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I. INTRODUCTION

Tribal Name

101 [114] The tribal name has two versions: Tikuna (Tekuna) or Tukuna (Tokuna). Of the earlier writers, Padre Samuel Fritz (1691), Ribeiro de Sampaio (1774), Spix and Martius (1819), and Ayres de Casal (1831) use the first forms; Acuña (1639), Berredo (1718), and José de Moraes Torres (1759) use the second; Monteiro Noronha (1768) uses both. Apparently, only the first version is used in Peru; in Brazil, however, both forms are in vogue, and it is noteworthy that some travelers (Herndon and Gibbon, 1853; Orton, 1875) employ the term Tikuna in Peru and Tukuna in Brazil.

101 114 The Kayuišána, neighbors of these Indians, call them Tukuna, the form that Koch-Grünberg heard among the Indians of the Rio Apaporis. According to Tessmann, the Tukuna do not have a name for the entire tribe. He quotes Veigl, who says that, although they speak a common language, they regard the tribe as being made up of different nations; this error on Veigl's part may be attributed to the Tukuna use of the Portuguese word "nação" in referring to their clans.

●[198] In this lingua franca spoken by the Indians, Tikuna is the most common version; this statement holds true for Brazil as well as for Peru. However, in their own language the Indians of the tribe employ exclusively the form Tukuna, or Tukuna, the first u having a high intonation and a light tonal accent: Tu:'ku:na. I have verified this pronunciation many times and with Indians of different localities.

According to Veigl,[1] the Portuguese called the Tukuna "ehumana"—a gross error, since the two tribes are clearly distinct.

Physical Type

141 The Tukuna are of average stature. According to Barbosa Rodrígues, the mean height of six men and six women measured in Tonantins was 149 centimeters and 145 centimeters, respectively,[2] figures which very probably are not accurate.

142 The skin is quite dark. The features of the face are in general coarse, the supraorbital ridges and the cheekbones pronounced. The nose is thick and prominent, the upper jaw strongly developed—not owing to the thickness of the lips but to true prognathism, which becomes immediately apparent when the mouth is agape so that all the teeth are visible. In some exaggerated cases this form of mouth produces an almost Negroid aspect, as Herndon noted among the neighboring Marubo of the Solimões.[3] However, I do not believe that this should be attributed to intermixture.

The iris is dark brown. The eyelid opening is either narrow or medium; the inclination is generally horizontal, with a few cases of obliquity.

During childhood the smooth, thick, black hair is somewhat reddish. Wavy hair is found only in individuals who show other evidences of mixed descent. The eyebrows are normal or scanty; the beard, if it appears at all, is sparse, even at a

[1] Quoted in Tessmann, Die Indianer Nordost-Perús, p. 559; see also Martius, Beiträge zur Ethnographie u. Sprachenkunde, 2:443–483.
[2] Barbosa Rodrígues, Tribu dos Ticunas, p. 52.
[3] Herndon and Gibbon, Exploration of the Valley of the Amazon, 1:243.

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ceed in obtaining any evidence to show whether the other clans also had any characteristic or distinctive facial tattoo, for this practice was abandoned so long ago that the memory of it has been obliterated. 304 614

The former existence of similar distinctive elements, now lost, would explain some of the differences in the statements of the early writers about Tukuna facial tattooing (see p. 39). Nino once told me that the members of the clan ɔ'/ta' (chicken) could be recognized from afar, since, when walking, they used to nod their heads just like chickens, but as this clan did not live in that locality, he could not prove his statement by concrete examples. In conversation, a certain Indian told some others that he was a runt because he belonged to the clan ĕë'vë'ru, the name of a small kind of anahy. Lastly, an Indian once said that I should belong to the clan kaurë' (Japihím) because, like that bird, I had blue eyes. In any case, the idea that some characteristic of the eponym should, or may, appear in the members of a clan is not entirely strange to the Tukuna. 614

In the feather ornaments used even today at the rites of passage there is not a single clan distinction. On the wall of the girl's seclusion hut a figure of a deer is painted, not because this animal is related to any clan, but because the deer is the symbol of that vigilance which the girl and those responsible for her should observe. [301] [532]

It is said that the members of the clan të'ma (Burity) formerly spoke a language different from the others', a statement that could be true only if this clan had been collectively localized. There is a legend that refers to the origin of the clans, but not of their names, since it relates only how the culture hero dyɔi', after fishing, in the company of his brother e'pi, for the first men, separated his people from his brother's, this separation being the origin of the moieties. Afterward he ordered a *jacurarú* to be cooked, and all were obliged to taste the broth; thus each one learned to which clan he belonged. According to another version, a pot containing a boiled *jacuruxy* was sent from heaven by ta-ë' ("Our Mother") for the same purpose (see p. 114). I do not believe that these facts justify classifying the Tukuna clans as totemic, as the Capuchin missionary Frei Fidelis, after only lightly touching the subject, would like to do.[1] There is not a trace of belief in a mystical parenthood common to members of a clan and the respective tree or animal correlated with it, nor do these correlations represent any emotional value. [198] 614 618 773

The personal name.—There is one element, however, by which an informed person may recognize an individual's clan without directly asking him: the personal name, which in veiled fashion indicates or connotes the tree or animal of the clan by reference to some quality, as illustrated in the following tabulation. 531 614

Clan ĕiva'

(Seringarana; jaguar)

Personal Name	Meaning	Analysis
♂ vanë'-k|	false [jaguar], that is, one that does not pursue man	vanë', false; k|, masc name suffix
♂ nu'ë't|-k|	evil-eyed [jaguar]	nu', bad; ë't|, eye

[1] The author's opinion only. Most anthropologists would unhesitatingly dub the phenomenon totemic.—Ed.